

A FOOLISH RULER

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— Reports from South Korea —

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Editor's Note

We introduce “An Age of Pseudonym”, a report from south Korea, carried in Japanese magazine *Sekai*, March 1975.

AN AGE OF PSEUDONYM

by T.K.

The Sun in the Year of 1975

January 1, 1975

We have now ushered in 1975, the year of Ulmyo. It is the year marking the 30th anniversary of liberation. But the "cherished desire" for reunification is being clouded further. In the south, as mentioned in someone's prayer, "the oppressor under the veil of falsehood and hypocrisy has declared war against the innocent people, endlessly repeating lies and threats."

How shall I define the history of 30 years in short? I should say it is the history of struggle for the rights of the people. Standing in the centre of the struggle and greeting the year 1975, *Tonga Ilbo* says, "The sun is rising again with hopes of burning up injustice and fraudulence in this year of Ulmyo." Running their eyes over the New Year's Day issue of this paper, the south Korean people will probably see the ray of hope that gleams even in the darkness. When the contracts for advertisements are cancelled, these columns turn into a forum for the voice of the people for democracy. The Pak regime must have forgotten the people when it judged that the press was drawing its subsistence from political and business power. The voice of political resistance is being

expressed even in advertisement columns, a practice not permitted so far.

Today's paper carried a big five-column advertisement of an "Appeal against Repression of Speech" issued by the Catholic "National Mission for the Realization of Justice". The nongovernment New Democratic Party, too, has made an appeal "For the Establishment of Democratic Government!" in the form of advertisement of the same size. And a nearly full-page is devoted to the advertisements of encouragement to *Tonga Ilbo*. Among them are "A Citizen Determined to Defend the Freedom of Speech", "The Members of Kyongdong Church", and "Hanguk Federation of Women Believers". My mind turns back to the various sufferings this paper has undergone since it came into being in 1920, following the year of March First Uprising, in advocacy of nationalism, democracy and civilization. They were the symbol of the sufferings for the whole nation. So the tears of *Tonga Ilbo* always meant the tears of the masses. The tragical process in which they shared the bitters with each other still continues, and now under the power of the men of the same blood, a fact which adds to our grief and indignation.

The record of honest life will not perish. *Tonga Ilbo* is now treading the same path of struggle that it traversed against the domination by other nation in the past. Soothed by the sense of being under the rule of fellow creatures, it was lenient at one time and acquiescent at another and even was denounced as being coward and reactionary. Now it seems to have reached a critical point. Its New Year editorial, "The Year of Uncertainty, 1975", concludes with the following:

The New Year was mentioned as a "year of uncertainty". Nevertheless, let us build up our hope. In order to lead a proud life under the sky, let us do our best to spend each day of the year with clear

conscience, raising our heads upright and holding out our chests with eyes wide open.

The people on this land know full well what is meant by this remark, though it may sound like too abstract a moral preaching. In this regard Mr. Kim Yong Sam, President of the New Democratic Party, said to a *Tonga Ilbo* reporter:

"The government... is trying to stifle me to bring me to my knees. But I can promise that I will never fall short of the people's expectations. I hope they will trust and support me and my party."

Looking back upon his kidnapping, Mr. Kim Dae Jung, too, said to a reporter:

"The incident will have an inestimable impact. When they bundled me into the ship, both they and me never imagined the chance of my survival. But I am alive and they failed. I have realized that life and death is not decided by the wit of man. My political activity was something like running up a steep stair. Now I shall walk calmly and with latitude of mind just as I walk on the level ground. I shall do methodically what is really in my power, without impatience for the result."

The mind has gained composure while mistreated, and confidence in victory has grown while suffering from pains. We are gratified with the gains. The same is true of the advance of *Tonga Ilbo*. A friend of mine who had been observing the moves of mass communication said to me:

"When the ousted Prime Minister of Thailand Thanom returned to Bangkok, a south Korean paper reported the news under a headline in large type: 'The Brazenfaced Dictator Sneaks In; Furious Students Cry against.' This is not anything new nor is it a venture of any single paper. All the south Korean press, though oppressed, has nurtured a strong sympathy for the repressed. If this is kept up, it will probably be able to serve as a means of mass com-

munication that can most sensitively respond to any world event in favour of the wronged masses even after the restoration of democracy. We must not forget those days of our mistreatment. The press must become the means of mass communication that claims for the rights of men, for the land of human rights before the world."

The truth of change and growth amidst struggle is also applicable to those behind the bars. I think I wrote once about an "indignation meeting" held under the auspices of the General Federation of Christian Students and others. This organization has the greatest number of friends in jail. It gave rise to a great stir by holding lectures and discussions on the satirical subjects: "Disease of Human Rights", "Mute Campus", "Schools Are Silent, although They Have a Visitor", and the like. The last one is an irony mocking at the visit of Mr. Ford.

At the gathering an ado was provoked by the attendance of an uninvited guest. He said that at the news of the meeting he came in a hurry from the countryside. He had been jailed many times for his acts of pickpocket. He said he had met prisoners from the General Federation of Christian Students. He seemed to have been deeply moved by the political offenders wearing yellow ribbons. He must have felt the warm love of the young cell-mates that he had never experienced before. He said in a loud voice:

They are patriots, though I'm a useless one.... Yun Pil Yong (former Capital Garrison Commander) is a wicked man. And yet he eats everything he wants even in the prison and plays tennis every day. What are you doing? You're enjoying yourselves here when the patriots are suffering in the jail....

He said he read the report in the newspaper and thought if this organization wasn't the one whose members he had met in the prison. Because of this

he was again taken to the CIA and dealt with severely. This anecdote gives a glimpse of what a noble spirit those young people are displaying even in jail.

A shepherd had a fit of paralysis and his mouth became twisted. As a matter of course, he was not bailed out in spite of his illness. Rather, he himself declined it and is now holding on among his friends. He is held in respect among "minor offenders". They often massaged him on his shoulders. The student, who told me of it, smilingly said, "I now realize the true reason why they refuse to be released. They can't expect such treatment outside the jail, can they? Sure the spring of democracy has already come in the prison."

In fact the support for the struggling people is growing stronger. The money sent in to the prisoners is said to be increasing. "The financial support is so great that they even want some of the money to be sent back to aid the struggle outside," said one of the students for joy. Former President Yun is also said to have sent in 5,000 *won* as Christmas present to each of the prisoners. He is still under house arrest. The government seems to have permitted only the relatives to pay the New Year visit to him, but no later than this morning.

These days grave penalty is not much in vogue. But police escort is a ceaseless practice. A sort of passive repression. Usually very old cases are picked up again. Among the students a rumour has it that time-worn cases will be brought forth as was in the manufacture of the case of People's Revolutionary Party. It is said that a "second incident of the National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy" may be framed up. A threatening rumour is also being spread that a Christian Social Democratic Party is active underground. The staunch attitude taken all along by *Tonga Ilbo* may again invite a raging storm of repression before March, it is rumoured.

Indeed, this is the "year of uncertainty". The only thing the south Korean people know is that the Pak regime will have recourse to every means to stay in power. In that case the people, too, will continue to resist, though their strength may decrease in number and no matter what situation they may find themselves in. This also will be a brutal fact which cannot be ignored as "uncertainty". That is the way, as *Tonga Ilbo* said, to "lead a proud life under the sky".

A Foolish Ruler

Immoral silence is still reigning over this land. Professor Paek Rak Chong of Seoul University was fired because he had signed the "National Declaration for the Restoration of Democracy". "If the basic rights of a democratic nation are denied even to the professor of a university, it is quite understandable how unfree the masses of the ordinary people will be. We all cannot but feel apprehensive for the future of the university and the whole society." This is what he said when he got the air. He was "dismissed" by the special penalty committee which consists exclusively of the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education. He is a scholar in English literature and keen literary critic. But he is a fine gentleman who seems to have almost nothing to do with "fighting spirit". Yet few of his colleagues demanded the withdrawal of this penalty. Only 44 persons joined the private university professors in the protest.

That was probably because of the petty-bourgeois mentality of those who seek for a comfortable life even under the tyranny, as was once sharply criticized by the professor in his critique.

The same can be said of the situation in the struggling opposition party, the New Democratic Party. The so-called "revitalized constitution" under the Pak regime stipulates for a six-year term of office for the national assemblymen. If they are obedient to power, even the assemblymen from opposition parties are monthly paid more than one million *won* each as official remuneration as long as the Pak regime exists. Nowhere else can they receive such a great sum. That is why many members are not following the stiff line of their Party leader Kim Yong Sam. It is said that among them there are those who have been serving as government agents for many years. Today's paper also carried a reporter's caustic criticism: "At a glance into the New Democratic Party I could see the gulf between the Party boss Kim and its members in their views of the situation. Most of the members from the New Democratic Party seem to consider that if only they behave gently, they can remain national assemblymen for life under the current election system. Maybe they are still in the grip of small holders' inclination to live in peace as inoffensive, professional assemblymen rather than expose themselves to the wind and rain by challenging the government power."

*Stars twinkle bright
As deeper grows the night,
Yet I grope in the dark.*

Many may feel sympathy with the torment of the poet who speaks of man's sufferings, but few are ready to sing with him and act with him. As soon as they raised the torch of resistance, the young writers and poets were confronted with an opposition statement made by the "great masters" who are no longer engaged in creation but are working hand in glove with the government.

That was a statement entitled "Situational Declaration of South Korean Men of Letters", which parroted the government hullabaloo that national efforts should be totally united to cope with the threat from the north. The statement was made public by a single named person and 53 other unnamed sponsors whose "existence" was questionable. The draft statement which had been circulated among literary men recommended the following:

"(1) Cross out either of 'Yes' or 'No'; (2) Please fill in your name; (3) If no reply is given by December 10, it will be construed as approval."

Again, there are not many people who can expose this practice to a sharp criticism. Some of the young "ambitious" writers who stand little chance of recognition are selling themselves at the literary-political market. Because they cannot yet stand on their feet as writers, they are compelled to get tied to their current jobs. The man of power threatens that if they resist, they shall "perish". He knows too well the weakness of the poor people and uses it. There are few who are free and can fight with determination. Meanwhile, the privileged circles loudly advertize that the soft-voiced, nameless people are content with the present state of affairs. Inspiring the ministerial assemblymen with confidence in their "activities at their home places", President Pak said:

"The overwhelming majority of the people are giving unqualified support to the revitalization system. You must know that only a small number of people are critical."

The "weak-voice majority" is manufactured by the CIA, whenever necessary. On this fictitious premise the Pak regime is making a fuss about the politics of "security and stability of life", politics which is the monopoly tool of Pak Jung Hi. Certainly he is "a foolish ruler". To tell the truth, he knows that the "majority" is a fake, and so he is always stricken

with terror and rattling a sabre. A journalist commented on the picture of Pak Jung Hi given in a newspaper as follows:

Isn't this exactly the same picture that has been shown for several years? All his pictures are said to be just the same. There is a fixed picture for the press. Actually he is leaner than before. So he is said to have decided not to show his emaciated face to the public. He seldom shows up even at official meetings. Maybe he is afraid of terrorism but more specifically he hates to be seen gaunt-faced. A reporter was ordered to the CIA and got roughed up for circulating the scandal about the ruler. Still now pressmen are walked off any minute and for no reason and given a good lesson. Hence, they were compelled to make the declaration on free speech as a step to save themselves.

Brave men may be few, but never have the masses been so discontent and critical as they are now. Under the situation the army is said to be kept under closer watch for fear of possible coup.

An attempt to straighten out the situation by mobilizing the army under martial law is avoided by all means. The ruler himself seems to admit his undeniable failure in the orgy of meting out severe punishments at courts-martial after the proclamation of two emergency measures. It is rumoured, therefore, that a president-sponsored coup by his own band is under contemplation, a coup to be followed by two years of military government during which a constitution will be drafted. Another friend commented to the contrary:

"Pak Jung Hi cannot do that because he can trust no one but himself. It is even inconceivable that the man who will stage such a coup will not step into power but concede it to Pak. As was the case with Hitler and many other fascists. Pak will not be able to make a decision but will dillydally until his final

collapse. So he will bring great disaster to the whole nation till his defeat. Already he is at a loss what to do with the prisoners, to the aggravation of the situation."

That is the natural process of despotism's downfall. He is shortsighted and blind to the future. He is pursuing something of a tough policy. But it will worsen the situation rather than save it. Now Pak Jung Hi's "retirement" is often the topic of the day. The government is trying its best to keep people from saying that the case of People's Revolutionary Party is a fabrication. But they talk about it openly and are escorted to the CIA. Many people who used to keep away from the Reds are now fighting among the wives whose husbands have been sentenced to death on charge of involvement in the People's Revolutionary Party incident. Together they go on hunger strike, hold demonstration and are walked off together. These wives attend prayer meetings and give vent to their grievances. Probably this is another step forward in the struggle.

The Pak regime takes makeshift measures only to get itself entangled in them. Among them is the case of Messrs. Hayakawa and Tachikawa. What will be the result if they are released now? What will happen when everything is known to the public in Japan? This is the headache for the Pak regime. This is giving rise to the rumour that something of a stopgap is being invented.

Even under these circumstances, those who are tied around the foolish ruler try to feign themselves elated. Sometimes this makes them even shabby. It is nothing but a bluff to hide the conflicts in their minds. They often say among themselves:

"Whoever will tolerate a man who is going to deprive him of his political power?"

"We were ready to die when we were making the 'revolution'. So must we be now in our undertaking."

"Ford is a realistic statesman. He won't meet the powerless guys (the anti-government campaigners)."

"They are taking on an air of composure in prison. Now, those fools will shout for help."

I shuddered when I heard of them. Too ruthless and cruel. If they are so pessimistic, they may stop at nothing. They are obsessed with a horrible sense of nihilism. They are convinced that tyranny will silence any man. As in the case of *Tonga Ilbo*, the masses burst into wild enthusiasm on the impulse of the moment, but they cool down giving way to tyranny. This is all the more true of south Koreans. The oppressors know every inch of the vulnerability of their fellow countrymen, and for this reason they are so brutal. And yet they have apprehension as robbers. This unrest is revealed in the anecdote given below.

Li Hu Rak was given a cold shoulder. He wanted to attend the funeral service of Mrs. Ryuk to present his condolences but was not permitted. But nowadays rumour has it that Pak confided to one of his close associates that "when Li was doing, things went smoothly." Then, an influential intelligence official is said to have sent Li a smart car, stuck at the customhouse, as a present. And lots of high-ranking officials' cars frequented his house.

This probably explains the psychology of the foolish minions swarming about the "foolish ruler". But people are wondering why these fools "well-treat" the powerless masses of people with leniency instead of "severely punishing" them, pending and following Ford's visit to south Korea. Behind the church leaders are the masses. In particular, the Catholics have powerful churches. The press seems to derive its strength from the readers. It is speculated that the ruler now thinks that heavy penalties meted out by the emergency measures will only aggravate the situation. But I don't think the oppressors are so

merciful, because they only read their master's face and conclude that they will remain loyal subjects by taking stiff measures, no matter what the result. This is how the Pak regime is breaking down. Still there is no sign of repentance of such overaction. Precisely for this reason I am more inclined to believe what was said by a friend who is well informed of the United States. He commented:

"President Ford had a 25-minute secret talk with Pak. They talked mostly over the political situation in Korea. I am not sure what was the specific topic and what was their compromise, but I should say one thing is certain. That is that repression should not be resumed as soon as Ford is gone."

Such may have been promised along with the "recognition" of the Pak regime. The US government must have given such "commitment" as measures to provide against Congressional action. Since Ford's return, the Pak regime may be trying to appear as if it were easing the tension while at the same time stepping up passive repression.

It is no more than a change in their tactics, but how long will it last?

That friend of mine said:

"The fact that the US Congress has reserved the 20 million-dollar military aid because of the problem of human rights in south Korea means a lot. Atmosphere in the US Congress is said to indicate that if there is no change in south Korea within the next six months, the United States has to make an important decision. I wonder if the Pak regime isn't making a gesture. Both the US Congress and Administration do not want a radical change in the current Korean situation. They are cautious of the persons who are imprudent in their approach towards the north. Anyhow, noteworthy is the change in the United States. The Korean question is now talked about even

in local US newspapers. This is the expression of the interest on the part of the US nation."

Such an attitude toward Korea has a number of negative aspects. Yet here I think we must take note of the fact that the wicked regime against which we are fighting is much more international than we resistants are. Could the Pak regime exist without US military aid and Japanese economic assistance and without their mutual adherence? Precisely herein lies the reason that the "revolution", too, must appeal to international conscience.

Have the ideal of world, the legitimate aspiration of the Japanese people and that of us south Koreans ever been as closely linked together as they are now? That is why I am moved by the encouragement, however small, from our Japanese friends to our struggle for democracy. I thank them from the bottom of my heart. I believe that in the true sense of the word the future of Japan and Korea will be the same. When I say this, Koreans may denounce me as pro-Japanese or traitorous to the nation. But they will not, I'm sure.

The Struggle of Tonga

January 17, 1975

When I hear the outcries of the masses nowadays, I often feel like seeing the vision of the future of this great nation. A great man has a common feeling with the masses and shares the bitters with them. He must not only be a competent statesman but also a man of great personality. I wonder if this type of man is now emerging and if a national united front is in the making even in this darkness—a united front

which, together with this man, will develop the hard-won democratic gains. Is this the mere flash of the favourite dream of my own? With my wish for a sober-minded comment on this feeling, I am going to quote from the editorial of *Tonga Ilbo* dated January 11, 1975, which I feel a bit long.

The editorial entitled "Thanks to the People for Their Support" reads:

We can't find proper words to express our thanks for the warm support and encouragement from the enthusiastic people. Since the announcement of the mass cancellation of the advertisement contracts with this paper and *Radio Tonga*, we have received an innumerable number of telephone messages and letters of encouragement. Although the blank space daily expands, the advertisement column of this paper is being filled in again with an endless flood of humble advertisements of encouragement. There is also a rush of long-term subscriptions.

Grateful as we are, we find it painful to acknowledge the deposits of aid money. Though it would be impossible to decline to accept such an enthusiastic offer of contributions, we cannot but feel our eyes moistened at the sympathy of the citizens who do not all seem to be well-off. Thankful as we are for the contributions from those company employees who are said to have collected the savings from their lunches, we are afraid how they are getting along without lunch. The university students and high schoolers, both male and female, have also made offers, though humble, when they have so many urgent things on which to spend as schoolers.

We are moved by the pathetic nationwide support. We all the more keenly realize how highly the people treasure *Tonga* and, at the same time, how serious our duties are.

Tonga has grown and will grow with the love of

the people. If the people is the sea, *Tonga* is the fish. Sea-water is indispensable to the latter's existence.

We do not think that the people's warm encouragement to *Tonga* is not intended for a single business corporation called *Tonga*. We believe that it is an encouragement to nationalism, democracy and culturism which *Tonga* advocates as its mottoes and wants to put into practice and, further, to the freedom of speech, people's rights and democratic development of our country. We are well aware that the people support, above all, the freedom of speech, civil rights and democracy of our country and that their love for *Tonga* is but an expedient for it.

Receiving so warm nationwide support in the midst of uncommon distress caused by the collective cancellation of advertisement contracts, we never feel lonely. We feel relief amid distress. Even in distress we strengthen our resolve and keep up our courage. We recall the following biblical expression: "Blessed are those being persecuted for their right cause, because Heaven is theirs." We lower our heads before the people and express our gratitude and admiration for their warm support. At the same time, we feel a special pride in our people, a great people who have a good sense, a high pride and a chivalrous spirit. As men of the press who want to tread the path of righteousness with the fullest display of good sense for the sake of such a great people while enjoying their love, we find ourselves worth living even amid the unfair distress.

The press should be the people's, and *Tonga* is theirs. That is why the press is called a public instrument, and *Tonga* the "newspaper of the nation". Expressing once again its admiration and thanks for the warm nationwide encouragement, *Tonga* is determined to do its best in the future, too, to remain the newspaper of the people, the "newspaper of the nation".

The word "warm" is repeatedly used in the editorial. But this repetition of the same word may be construed as meaning that it can never thank them enough. A woman who seems to be out shopping appears in the newspaper office, lays an envelope on the desk of the publicity manager and goes out. Her dress tells she is not so well off. There are thousands of *won* in the envelope. She did not give her name. Students come in endless streams to advance their subscriptions for one year. There is even an ardent fellow who sends in words of encouragement written in blood on a blank column of advertisements which he clipped from the newspaper. Students have brought their donation in small change as they collected it in haste. Such a moving scene occurs one after another. It seems that the advertisements encouraging *Tonga* are on a steady increase. One of my pleasant daily tasks these days is to pore over newspaper advertisements rather than to read its articles. Their content brings tears to my eyes. Below I introduce some encouraging advertisements from today's newspaper.

What is it, the freedom of speech? I too wish to have it.—Pak In Gon, cobbler.

They are fools.—Seven students.

Bringing a light to this darkness.—The family association called the Song of Angels.

Until the baton is handed over.—Some students of Huimun High School.

The mouth shut up, the eyes covered, but the ears were alive.—Some clothing workers of Tonghwa Firm.

Tonga! You are the only hope of us all!—Inhabitants of Myongdongwol (street).

I regard *Tonga's* pain as mine.—An anonymous reader.

Encouragement to *Tonga* on the occasion of

our marriage.—Son Hye and Yong San.

Hyon Chol, learn the courage of *Tonga*!—On the occasion of the 100th day of newborn Hyon Chol, my eldest son.

Have the best of it!—Graduates of Seoul High School.

I wish to embrace *Tonga*.—Chu.

An advertisement simply reads: “A grandmother in Myonmok-dong”. These advertisements are mostly printed anonymously.

This explains why the short pieces column of *Tonga Ilbo* described the present age as an “age of pseudonym”.

Otherwise, the advertisers will be subject to all sorts of suppression and intimidation. They might be all regarded as men of silence and included in the large majority of supporters of the “revitalization system”. But, scared of the courage of these people, the CIA is taking much pain to find out the advertisers. The local police is examining the lists of *Tonga* readers. In particular, the latest subscribers are under rigid examination. *Tonga Ilbo* copies are often missing in the localities. Newsboys are terrorized. This has an effect in the localities. The afflicted cannot report to the head office in Seoul, for it might threaten their own existence. So, the Pak regime believes that it can coerce the tacit people still to be found in large numbers in localities into obeying the government instructions, which it cannot do in large cities like Seoul. These people may be forced to keep silence, but they will not meekly obey, I am sure.

I do not doubt that they, too, are the south Koreans who will confirm their existence by joining in the resistance of *Tonga Ilbo*.

History will flow and they will rise in resistance.

In view of the case of *Tonga Ilbo*, I cannot but all

the more keenly realize the great meaning an individual acquires in history.

The struggle of *Tonga Ilbo* for free press activities was started by the resistance of some 30 young journalists. It stirred up all of *Tonga Ilbo*. It also made the leading cadres of the office return to the original spirit of the newspaper.

The following is a passage in the first part of the information released by the executives of the *Tonga Ilbo* branch of the journalists' association and the special committee for free press activities at the end of last year:

They pretend to "know nothing" of the wholesale cancellation of advertisement contracts with *Tonga Ilbo*. This notwithstanding, cancellation continues. There has been no contract for theatrical advertisement since 25th. The Vulture Brand Electric Gramophone Company annulled its advertisement contract. Then, on the 28th the Life Insurance Company withdrew its advertisement due on the 30th by telephone. The Hyundai Automobile Company which had promised to put a New Year's special advertisement in a whole page notified us through a telephone that it rescinded the contract. The Seoul Foodstuffs Company and the Borneo Trade Office (furniture) which had made a five-column space contract broke it and withdrew the original advertisements. Special mention must be made of the case of the Hyundai Automobile Company. A person in charge of information of this company gave his final words to our publicity man on the afternoon of the 28th by telephone, saying that he would send a mezzotint for a whole-page New Year's advertisement before the noon of the 30th, but in 20 short minutes later he rang up our man to notify the cancellation of the contract.

It is believed that such an early cancellation is impossible without any "outsider's" tapping of the

wire between the publicity department of our office and the advertiser.

The names of the companies are not certain because the information gives them in DS and the like, but I have given them in full according to my investigation. Moreover, an important thing is that the information strongly demanded the office that contribution, words of encouragement and advance payment of subscription be made public through the newspaper and radio. The information pointed out:

"Turning one's back on the fiery encouragement of the readers is an act of turning his back on the free people aspiring after the restoration of democracy."

And it stressed: "The clearer we make our future course, the greater the encouragement of the people aspiring after the restoration of democracy will become, and we are confident that our struggle for free press activities will win amid that encouragement."

The journalists were convinced that "the victor is already decided, although the struggle may be attended with complications for the time being". They also entertained the belief that the movement of *Tonga Ilbo* was not an isolated struggle. The information pointed out: "Our struggle for free press activities has already gone beyond the bounds of the *Tonga Ilbo* office and become a matter of concern to the democratic-minded people and an object of international attention."

This minority is, in fact, changing the course of history.

The authorities, the government party and even the dictator are now silent on the struggle of this newspaper. They only resort to crafty obstructive manoeuvrings, which can hardly check the rise of the waters. As was the case that happened following the deportation of American Pastor Ogle, the struggle is the result of an overaction committed by the Pak

regime in dire confusion. The Pak regime had failed to think that the expulsion of Pastor Ogle would invite so harsh criticism at home and abroad. It had hardly foreseen that he could attend a US Congress hearing so immediately. It had not imagined that the act of the south Korean CIA which had deprived him of his liberty even at Haneda would arouse so great a trouble. It is because it concluded everything hastily from its own standpoint and failed to judge it objectively.

The incident of *Tonga Ilbo* has extended the resistance of the students and the Christians to the press world and the entire people. The Pak regime will be driven into a corner where it has no choice but to make any decision. There is no knowing what this decision is like, suppression or a temporary evasive measure for survival. Anyhow the Pak regime will be unable to escape its fate which has already been sealed. The majority of the staff of the office say that *Tonga Ilbo* has no place for further retreat.

At present, too, a minority is working miracles. The individual moulds history. A great nation and history produce a great individual. South Korea should rather remain a dignified country than a country priding itself on its wealth. This will recompense for the present hardships.

South Korea should become the Mecca of justice. It must keep solidarity with the international anxiety not to make the flag of fascism fly in Asia.

We can hardly keep up our struggle without knowing the reality in which those who maltreat us are united internationally. South Korean people are all in a state of informal confinement by virtue of that united effort. Our struggle enjoying the solidarity of international conscience is a struggle to destroy that effort.

This is the reason why we express our thanks

for the support the struggle of *Tonga Ilbo* receives from the outside.

People with No Place to Retreat

Under these circumstances all people seem to have been politicized.

A leading cadre of *Tonga* said that it was not until the struggle of *Tonga* that the pressmen became vivacious. It seems that struggling for righteous cause with courage makes a man have such a pride.

We are talking to each other that this pride in fact is derived from the perseverance and inspiration of the people in jail. The people in prison gave us silent encouragement when many people outside had been exhausted. In this sense, too, it may be said that the Pak regime is making a gross miscalculation by imposing heavy penalties on them and hesitating to let them out.

They had probably thought that such measures were necessary for the maintenance of power. But I think those measures are rather hastening their collapse.

They kidnap fishing boats, harping on the menace from the north, and talk about the tunnels dug by the north in the truce-line area and about the tragic event of August 15. But this only strengthens the people's thinking that the "unity" of the Pak regime's type will bring nothing in the relation with the north. The physical strength of the Pak regime can bring no result at home and abroad and in its relation with the north.

Pak has managed to secure an absolute authority. However, he uses it not in leading the people, but in beating and strangling them to death.

I am told that a policeman who made domiciliary searches during the incident of jewelry smuggling by the wife of a high-ranking official was dumb struck when he discovered 100 million *won* in cash in the house of a minister directly associated with the President. They say that of late President Pak has been giving a party almost every day. But it is not intended to hear something from the guests, but to tell what he thinks of.

They say that he does not give other people a chance to speak. This means that they must not utter words jarring on his ear.

A plane once flew into the air space over the restricted area around Chongwadae and was fired by anti-aircraft guns, which brought disaster even to citizens.

But nothing had been made public on the incident before they announced about two weeks later that it was an act of "intrusion" by a plane belonging to the Taehan Airlines.

No further details have been published at all. Citizens do not believe in that intrusion. There is much conjecture as to the incident. Some say that the plane actually was a military plane. Others say that the incident was a forehanded intimidation because there was the possibility of intrusion by the air force. Yet others say that it in fact was designed to strike terror into the hearts of all citizens. Some people grin a bitter smile, saying that things have come to such a pass that they can no longer rule over the citizens without occasional anti-aircraft firings. What brazen power it is!

After making a bad, indelible impression on other countries, Pak Jung Hi pretends to be sorry for it and tries to take appropriate measures. It must be for this reason that articles extolling him are appearing in Japanese magazines.

While inspiring fear in foreigners, the Pak regime runs amuck to give publicity to south Korea as a tourist resort. And, in order to fill up the shrinkage of national revenues as a consequence of the decrease in the number of tourists, an exorbitant custom duty is imposed at the Kimpo airport. This means that revenue from custom duties collected at the airport should not be reduced even if the number of tourists dwindles. Stricter surveillance has been exercised over foreigners. But, as to the foreign business, they kneel down and bow before them, begging importunately for their enterprise in south Korea. Some person grumbled that he couldn't know how the wind blew.

He said that if people residing in the United States wanted to take out their families from south Korea, the US consulate in Seoul showed an amicable attitude unlike the former time.

Is this the indication of its understanding of their desire to get out of such a country?

How can this emigration boom to escape from their homeland be explained? Unable to remain silent, someone said that he ran away because he had no courage to become a prisoner and yet was in no mood to enjoy himself as an accomplice (with the authority).

Most of people, however, are those who have no place to fall back. The people who have been keeping silent are raising their voices even anonymously.

Those who have been fighting in anonymity are joining the fighting ranks under their real names. The young journalists of *Tonga Ilbo* have paved this road.

The reader's columns of *Tonga* have been enlarged as its advertisement columns have been reduced. Take the columns of "Trend" in the January 15th number for instance. There are eight contributions

and two poems. In addition to them, there is a list of names of nearly 500 contributors.

Let me cite a poem from those columns, which is entitled "The Sad Prayer of a Prisoner's Wife".

*O, I feel choky.
I feel my voice losing.
I can hear nothing.
For 27 hours, my dear,
I did not have a wink,
Claiming your innocence
With all my voice.
But my voice fails me,
And there is no echo, of course.
A wall, the iron wall,
Stands between you and me.
During these eight months
I've forgotten your voice
And your face, too.
O, I wish to see you, my love.
Patience and courage alone
Will bring us victory, and
This you and I know too well.
O Lord, merciful Maria!
Give protection to him,
Grant him perseverance, health and belief.
I'm earnestly praying
With my hands placed together.*

An Bo Hyong

Fortunately, we are provided for the first time with a place to give shouts. I will introduce below "Talk between Mother and Son through Prison Bars", another contribution. It is said that 183 out of 203 political offenders are now behind the bars. Among them there are 102 students.

The letter of her son reaches home once a month,

with many of its passages blurred out through censorship. He wrote:

Dear mother and father,

I believe it is very cold in Seoul now. But unlike Seoul, it is very warm here in Pusan.

So far I have been spending my time without inconvenience.

Life here is different from that in society and I spend almost every day in reading. So I feel rather at ease here. My life is rather restful than burdensome.... Every day I do exercise in the cell and sleep sufficiently. I feel I have become healthier than I was in society.... Though I have no liberty, my mind travels to an endless world.

Here I could reflect on my past life. And I could think over my future life and course. I may be marking time compared with others, but, anyhow, it is certain that my life is on a great turning-point. Of course, there has not been a drastic change in my view of life and value. But, I have confirmed my belief. It seems that I have gained greater confidence in life....

Do my friends call at our house? They may be all busy with their work, so don't think ill of them even if they don't visit. Since I am alone separated from many people, I can meditate deeper even a little. My stay here might be more advantageous to me in perfecting myself.

Meeting and correspondence have been allowed, but only once a month. Letters from outside are not restricted. Please, send me letters often. Tell my friends to write me.

How's grandma's health? ... I remember she was very healthy when I was imprisoned here. As I am in jail like this, I tend to think of her all the more....

The above is the letter of Song Jae Dok, a sophomore of the law faculty, Yonse University, who is

undergoing a twelve-year sentence. His mother wrote her feelings in poetical form in answer to her son. The reply reads:

*My Jae Dok!
Waiting for your return,
I have spent one year.
You vanished like a dream
In early spring, the blooming season.
Summer had gone,
Autumn passed
And winter is again here.
Your grandma breathed her last,
While expecting to hear your familiar steps,
While waiting for you
Who would rush to her with tearful voice....
The thought of your grandma
Brings back the memory of the days
When I had wailed and wailed.
Even Heaven seemed so unkind,
Even Heaven seemed so cruel.
How could I console the soul of your grandma
Who died exhausted,
While waiting for you,
With your vision on her knees.
I pray today, too,
That you come home like the sun
At dawn of some day
Before the year is out....*

Your mother, December 26, 1974

It is uncertain whether this poem reached her son or not.

Her prayer for the return of her son before the end of 1974 was unanswered. It was reported in the newspapers that he would be released in January. But soon this hope again vanished like the mist with

the circulation of the rumour that the chief of a bureau of the CIA was dismissed on account of divulgence of informations regarding the devaluation of *won* against dollar and the possible release of students.

Song Jae Dok was unable to be present at his grandmother's death.

This might probably be due to the "grave offence" the lad of 19 had given by shouting: "Give us democracy!" What is the Pak regime going to do with such popular resentment? Is Pak Jung Hi a sort of man who remains undisturbed even in face of such tragedy? In the picture of Song printed in the newspaper I saw a kindly and lovely face. I put the newspaper down immediately, unable to look at his face any longer. For he seemed to be appealing to me for something. Not a few people have such malignant spirits. The father of an imprisoned student had come up to Seoul and was engaged in a release campaign together with the families of other prisoners. In the meantime, the mother of the student and his younger brothers and sisters died of briquette-gas-poisoning. But the student was only allowed to cry with set teeth in the cell.

A woman student who had been let off for child-birth is now preparing to complete her prison term. Her husband is also in jail. She has not christened her suckling, waiting for the release of its father. She is going to place her child under the care of her youngest sister. I am told that at present she is teaching her sister how to rear infants. *Tonga Ilbo* reported that balancing herself with difficulty as the pain from the torture in the prison still had its effect, she expressed her determination, saying: "I will regain my health as early as possible and join my husband and fellow students who are suffering imprisonment as they advocated the restoration of democracy."

For all these sufferings on the part of people, the

Pak regime is trumpeting loudly that "no human rights have ever been infringed upon", and "democracy and people's rights are protected". When shall we put an end to this sarcasm? Winter has been regarded as the period in which the students are scattered away from their campuses and people take a political vacation. But this winter the Catholic and Protestant churches have striven to keep the light of justice burning, probably for the good of the prisoners suffering from chilblains. And the flame has spread to *Tonga Ilbo* and is now burning on a nationwide scale. How will the Pak regime wield its sword of repression from now on, hearing the sound of its downfall? This is the question in the year of 1975.

Before concluding this dispatch, I will add just a word about the proposal put forward by the Japanese side to the ROK-Japan Committee for Cooperation, which is frontpaged in today's papers. The Japanese side, the papers report, "pointed out the fact that the import of Japanese films has not been allowed in south Korea even today when ten years have elapsed since the conclusion of the ROK-Japan agreement" and proposed "to exchange even cultural films, to begin with". It is said that the study of Japanese language at high schools and colleges is associated with the pro-Japanese policy attendant on Japan's "economic aid". It is again becoming a target of criticism these days. In spite of this, the Japanese side has raised the film problem. This will be denounced as a cultural invasion, causing another trouble. What on earth is the intention of the pro-Koreans, the members of the Japan-ROK Committee for Cooperation? It is said that they promised to consider the economic matters proposed by the Pak regime and, in exchange for it, moved a proposal for such "Japanization". Why do they force such a thing upon the south Korean government? Recalling immediate-

ly the trouble caused by Japanese films several years ago, my friend who had been reading the paper beside me said:

At that time, too, people started a large-scale campaign against Japanese films, criticizing that Japanese filmdom was trying to find a way out of its imminent bankruptcy in the south Korean market. The cinema world of south Korea, too, has been completely corrupted.

So, they attempted to cope with their business depression by means of subordinating south Korea to Japan under the name of south Korea-Japan partnership. The pro-Koreans of Japan might have come again to fill the order placed with them by the Japanese cinema world. Do they foresee the anti-Japanese storm which will break out on a nationwide scale when the Japanese film advertisements are put up in every village all over the country? Well, they may be thinking that those advertisements will lead to Japanization and the disappearance of anti-Japanese sentiments. These pro-Koreans are only making miscalculations together with the Pak regime. And do they also think that everything can be settled with money and force? They are the ghosts of Japanese imperialism.

Our friends in Japan! The seeds of misfortune should no longer be sown at the present time. The day will surely come when the peoples of our two countries talk with each other with pride. The day will come when Japanese culture will not be forced upon the people with the dictator's approval to become the target of their hatred, but be ushered in with respect to meet their need. If one does anything hastily, then it, even if good, may impair other's national pride.

Still alive in the memory of the south Korean people is the tragedy that took place 80 years ago at

the close of the Korean feudal dynasty when Japan forced "the reformation of internal policies" upon it and, using this as a lever, built a bridgehead for aggression.

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